

Message Text

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ACTION SCI-06

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USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L IAEA VIENNA 5014

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, IAEA, US, IN, PK

SUBJ: DEBATE ON INDIAN NUCLEAR TEST AT IAEA BOARD JUN 11-13

REF : IAEA VIENNA 4910

1. MUNIR KHAN, PAKISTAN AEC CHAIRMAN, INFORMED MISSION DURING ONE-DAY STOPOVER IN VIENNA JUNE 4 THAT PAKISTAN INTENDS INSCRIBE INDIAN NUCLEAR EXPLOSION AS AGENDA ITEM FOR IAEA BOARD DISCUSSION. KHAN MEETING WITH HIS FOREIGN MINISTER IN PARIS NOW AND WILL RETURN VIENNA JUNE 8.

2. KHAN REFLECTED SAME STRONG PAKISTANI CONCERN OVER INDIAN TEST REFLECTED IN REPORTS FROM OTHER CAPITALS. WE TOLD HIM, AND HE UNDERSTANDS, THAT PLACING ITEM ON IAEA BOARD AGENDA MAY NOT BE WELL RECEIVED BY MANY MEMBERS WHO WISH TO PRESERVE IAEA AS NON-POLITICAL FORUM, BUT IT CLEAR THAT HE INSTRUCTED MAKE STRONG STATEMENT RE INDIAN EXPLOSION, ON BASIS
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OF THE EFFECT IT WILL HAVE ON FURTHER NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION,

AS WELL AS AGENCY'S INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARDS PROGRAM.

3. KHAN'S REMARKS REFLECT SEVERAL THEMES.

A. THE INDIANS HAVE, IN EFFECT, BLOWN THE NPT TO BITS, LEAVING THE SITUATION AS A FREE-FOR-ALL, IN WHICH AT LEAST SIX OTHER STATES COULD VERY WELL JOIN THE INDIAN "PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE CLUB" IN FIVE YEARS.

B. THE INDIANS HAVE DONE THIS WITH PRACTICALLY NO REACTION FROM THE TWO SUPERPOWERS, INDEED, IN SOVIET CASE PUBLIC REACTION HAS BEEN ONE OF IMPLICIT ENCOURAGEMENT. HE INTENDS TO PUT SOVIETS ON THE SPOT, DESCRIBING THEIR POSITION AS ONE OF "SELECTIVE PROLIFERATION." SOVIETS, SAID KHAN, NOW THAT THEIR MAJOR NPT OBJECTIVE IS ACCOMPLISHED--GERMAN RATIFICATION--SEEM PREPARED TO LET OTHER HIGHER-PRIORITY POLITICAL OBJECTIVES GOVERN THEIR REACTION TO NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD.

C. IF INDIA IS ALLOWED TO GET AWAY WITH IT, THE LAST CHANCE TO STOP PROLIFERATION WILL HAVE BEEN LOST. BY WHAT MORAL AUTHORITY CAN MAJOR NPT SUPPORTERS URGE OTHERS TO RATIFY THE TREATY IN FACE OF INDIAN EXAMPLE AND LACK OF EVIDENCE OF ANY CRITICAL REACTION, OR POSITIVE COUNTER-ACTION. NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE NEXT YEAR LIKELY TO SEE THE BREAK-UP RATHER THAN THE STRENGTHENING OF THE NPT. IAEA SAFEGUARDS WOULD SUFFER THE SAME FATE AS LEAGUE ON NATIONS SANCTIONS, AND BECOME PRACTICALLY MEANINGLESS AS AN EFFECTIVE FORCE IN ACHIEVING WORLD ORDER.

4. KHAN WAS LESS PRECISE ABOUT WHAT MIGHT BE DONE ABOUT IT, LEAVING THAT TO OTHERS TO DECIDE. HE IS, OF COURSE, UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO STRESS THAT THE PROVISION OF A GREAT POWER NUCLEAR UMBRELLA WOULD BE THE MOST ACCEPTABLE AND DRAMATIC EVIDENCE OF SINCERITY ON THE PART OF NPT DEPOSITARY POWERS. HE THOUGHT THE SUB-CONTINENT NUCLEAR FREE ZONE PROPOSAL WAS PROBABLY NOW ACADEMIC, ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT RULE IT OUT.

5. WE TOLD KHAN THAT MOST PERMANENT MISSIONS IN VIENNA OPPOSED HAVING A CONTROVERSIAL DEBATE IN THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING ON THE INDIAN EXPLOSION. IN THIS GROUP WERE CANADA AND CONFIDENTIAL

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US, BOTH OF WHOM WERE CONSIDERING MAKING BOARD STATEMENTS REITERATING THEIR STRONG SUPPORT FOR NPT AND URGING MAXIMUM ADHERENCE TO TREATY, BUT AVOIDING ANY DIRECT ATTACK ON INDIA WHICH MIGHT ONLY COMPLICATE FUTURE ATTEMPTS TO ACHIEVE INDIA'S COOPERATION IN THE QUESTION OF PROLIFERATION. KHAN AGREED THAT HE WOULD ATTEMPT TO HOLD FOCUS OF DEBATE TO A DISCUSSION OF FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES, RATHER THAN AN ATTACK ON INDIA.

6. KHAN WILL MAKE ONE OTHER POINT IN DEBATE, TO EFFECT THAT INDIA, HAVING ACHIEVED A NUCLEAR EXPLOSION, IS NOW BY DEFINITION AN ADVANCED NUCLEAR STATE AND THEREFORE NO LONGER ENTITLED TO IAEA TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE. THIS ARGUMENT MAY HAVE APPEAL TO OTHER LDC'S SUCH AS PHILIPPINES ALTHOUGH WE DOUBT THAT MOST OTHER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ON BOARD WILL PARTICIPATE IN ANY WAY IN THIS DEBATE.

7. WE BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT US MAKE SOME STATEMENT AT BOARD MEETING AT LEAST AS STRONG AS THAT SUGGESTED IN REFTTEL. IN VIEW OF LIKELIHOOD OF SPECIFIC PAKISTANI CRITICISM OF SUPER-POWERS (HOPEFULLY DIRECTED MORE AGAINST SOVIETS THAN US) WE MUST, IN OUR VIEW, AS A MINIMUM REAFFIRM OUR CONCERN RE PROLIFERATION, OUR STRONG SUPPORT FOR NPT AND OUR OFT-STATED POSITION THAT THERE NO DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE TECHNOLOGY INVOLVED IN MAKING PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE DEVICES AS CONTRASTED TONUCLEAR WEAPONS. THIS WILL BE A FAIRLY LAME RESPONSE TO ANTICIPATED PAKISTANI COMMENTS, BUT WE BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT KEEP SUB-CONTINENT POLITICS OUT OF INAPPROPRIATE IAEA FORUM, AND TO LIMIT SUBJECT, IF POSSIBLE, TO PAKISTANI STATEMENT AND INDIAN REBUTTAL.TAPE

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